

Scales, verbs and verbal prefixes

Source of telicity. It is often argued that the lexical entries of verbs may encode telicity. Recently Rappaport Hovav (RH) 2008 and Kennedy and Levin (K&L) 2008 have argued that this holds for at least a subset of verbs (for verbs with associated two-point scales (RH 2008) and verbs with closed scales (K&L 2008); also cf. Filip 2008). Data from Hungarian shows that this is not universal; in some languages, verbs fail to introduce telicity via their lexical specification.

In Hungarian, telicity can arise if some other element (e.g. a particle or PP) is also present, but not otherwise. Accordingly, telic interpretation is impossible if a particle (underlined) is absent in (1). This holds even for verbs denoting two-point scales (achievements, (1a,b)); verbs with a definite strict incremental theme (1c), and verbs with closed scales (1d).

- (1)a Feri *(meg) hal-t / Feri hal-dok-lott
 Feri-nom particle die-past.3sg / Feri-nom die-iterative-past.3sg
 'Feri died' (TELIC) / 'Feri was dying' (ATELIC)
- b Feri *(el) ér-te a csúcsot
 Feri-nom particle reach-past.3sg the top-acc
 'Feri reached the peak' (TELIC; particle is obligatory)
- c Feri (meg) it-ta a (pohár) bort
 Feri-nom particle drink-past.3sg the glass wine-acc
 'Feri drank the (glass of) wine' (with particle: TELIC; without particle: ATELIC)
- d A medence *(ki) ürül-t
 the pool-nom particle empty-past.3sg
 'The pool emptied' (TELIC; particle is obligatory)

Particles and telicity. The telic reading in Hungarian is not the result of an implicature. Unlike the implicature with English predicates which denote multi-point scales, it cannot be canceled (cf. RH 2008). *For*-adverbs and a denial of (maximal) culmination is marked in Hungarian:

- (2)a Feri le nyírta a fűvet, #(de nem az egész)et
 Feri-nom particle cut the grass-acc but not the whole-acc
 'Feri mowed the lawn, (but not all of it)'
- b A nap #(két óráig) meg szárította a pólót
 the sun-nom two hour-until particle dried the shirt-acc
 'The sun dried the shirt (for two hours)'

Generalizing a proposal in Piñón 2006, I argue that telicity is the result of a maximality presupposition introduced by the particle. Specifically, it follows from the presupposition that the event in question lacks a continuation in the actual world and in alternative worlds. Considering perfective and imperfective forms in Hungarian, I also argue that particles are indeed the source of telicity (contra Slavic languages, where the perfective verb encodes telicity (Filip 2008)).

(A)telic degree achievements (DAs). In English, DAs, derived from a scalar adjective, show variation in the availability of telic readings (Abusch 1986, Hay et al. 1999, Kearns 2006, K&L 2008, a.o.). If the associated scale has a maximal value (it is upper closed), then the DA can be either telic or atelic. If the scale is open, the DA is atelic (3). Given the discussion above, it is expected that Hungarian DAs behave otherwise. While the associated scales are uniformly closed (3a,4a) or open (3b,4b) for both languages, it is particles which yield telicity for Hungarian DAs. In absence of a particle, the DA is always atelic; a telic interpretation is only available if particles are present (4a,b). Telic interpretation is available with closed and open scale DAs alike.

- (3)a The shirt *dried* in half an hour / for half an hour (TELIC / ATELIC)
 b The gap between the boats *widened* for ten minutes / ?? in ten minutes (ATELIC / ??TELIC)
- (4)a A póló két óra alatt *(meg) *száradt*
 the shirt-nom two hour under particle dried
 'The shirt dried in two hours' (TELIC with particle, ATELIC otherwise)
 b Az utat két hónap alatt *(ki) *szélesítették* a munkások
 the road-acc two month under particle widened-caus the workers-nom
 '?? The workers widened the road in two months' (TELIC with particle, ATELIC otherwise)

(4) shows that closed scales are neither sufficient nor necessary to guarantee telicity of DAs.

Open and closed scales. Open and closed scale DAs still behave differently. A telic open scale DA requires only minimal change (5a), while the maximal value must be reached if the scale is closed (5b). Note that K&L 2008 argue that minimal change characterizes atelic readings, but (5a) is telic. *Meg* particles also identify closed scales; they appear with closed scale DAs only.

- (5)a Az út ki *szélesedett*, de még mindig elég keskeny
 the road-nom particle widened but yet always enough narrow
 'The road widened, but it's still too narrow' (TELIC, OPEN SCALE DA)
 b #A mangó meg *érett*, de még mindig elég zöld / éretlen
 the mango-nom **meg** ripened but yet always enough green / unripe
 '#The mango ripened, but it's still too green / unripe' (TELIC, CLOSED SCALE DA)

Same verb, different scales. Some closed scale DAs can appear with more than one type of particle. The interpretation is always telic, but the event is mapped to different scales; the ambiguous event mapping is lexicalized by particles. With *meg*, the scale is the adjectival scale (6a). If the particle is not *meg*, then a non-scalar argument supplies the scale (6b). In (6b), the event is mapped to the spatial extent or volume of the argument undergoing the change of state.

- (6)a A szivacs félig meg_{AdjectivalScale} *száradt*
 the sponge-nom half **meg** dried
 'The entire sponge is half dry' (is halfway to being completely dry) (TELIC)
 b A szivacs félig ki_{SpatialScale} *száradt*
 the sponge-nom half particle dried
 'Half of the sponge is (completely) dry' (TELIC)

(7) provides further support for the different scales involved. The puddle can be a quantity of water. Thus the puddle itself cannot become dry, but it can determine the quantity of water which evaporates. In other words, the event can only be mapped to the extent of *the puddle* (cf. (6b)).

- (7) A pocsolya *meg_{AdjectivalScale} / ki_{SpatialScale} *száradt*
 the puddle-nom **meg** / particle dried
 'The puddle dried (out)' (TELIC)

Contribution of particles. I propose that all particles introduce the maximality presupposition noted above (i). With DAs, the particle *meg* can add two additional presuppositions: (ii) that there is a homomorphic mapping between the event and a scale argument of the verb, and (iii) that the scale is closed. Other particles, including *ki* 'out' may also introduce presupposition (iii), but they introduce a mapping between the event and a non-scalar argument of the verb (ii'). Thus in addition to telicity, the mapping of the event is also determined by particles in Hungarian.

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